

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

NSAE-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00

DHA-02 AID-05 ACDA-07 OMB-01 ARA-10 EA-07 NEA-10

/118 W

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O P 112322Z JUL 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4425

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 2206

GENEVA FOR AMB YOUNG

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, US, SF, WA

SUBJECT: WESTERN FIVE TALKING POINTS FOR THE SAG

REF: USUN 2167

1. AT WESTERN FIVE MEETING ON JULY 11, GROUP AGREED ON A PAPER TO BE SUBMITTED TO CAPITALS, AND, IF CAPITALS CONCUR, TO BE PRESENTED TO SAG. THE PAPER CONSISTS OF TWO SECTIONS: 1) INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADORS OF THE FIVE IN PRETORIA; AND 2) TAKING CONFIDENTIAL

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POINTS. GROUP AGREED THAT PRESENTATION SHOULD BE MADE ON JULY 13, OR NO LATER THAN JULY 14, AND THAT A WRITTEN TEXT OF THE TALKING POINTS SHOULD BE LEFT WITH THE SAG. (NOTE THAT POINTS ONE AND THREE IN THE "INSTRUCTIONS" ARE COVERED IN THE TALKING POINTS, WHILE POINT TWO IS NOT; THUS POINT TWO SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED ORALLY.) FIVE AMBASSADOR SHOULD CONSULT AMONG THEMSELVES AS

TO THE OTHER DETAILS OF THE PRESENTATION.

2. TEST OF THE PAPER FOLLOWS: QUOTE

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PRETORIA AMBASSADORS

WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, THE CONTACT GROUP'S AMBASSADORS SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO DESCRIBE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTRY THE PRESENT STATE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS ON NAMIBIA. THE POINT WOULD BE TO DEMONSTRATE TO SOUTH AFRICA THE DIFFICULTY THE CONTACT GROUP IS HAVING IN MAINTAINING MOMENTUM. IN THAT CONNECTION, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF POINTS ON WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP MUST HAVE A MORE EXPLICIT RESPONSE FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IF WE ARE TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARDS ACHIEVING AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THE PRESENTATION WOULD AIM(1) TO CAUTION THE SOUTH AFRICANS AGAINST PREMATURE INSTALLATION OF AN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL, (2) TO CAUTION THE SOUTH AFRICANS AGAINST USING THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FIVE AS JUSTIFICATION FOR UNILATERAL ACTION UPON WHICH THE FIVE HAVE NOT HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT IN ADVANCE, AND (3) TO ELICIT FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS THEIR PLANS FOR A PHASED WITHDRAWAL.

THE PRESENTATION WOULD BE MADE TO FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA, IF POSSIBLE, OR TO DIRECTOR GENERAL FOURIE AND ON JULY 13 OR 14 AT THE LATEST.
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TAKING POINTS

1. OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE ASKED US TO BRING THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT UP TO DATE ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONTACT GROUP SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE SECOND CAPE TOWN TALKS ON JUNE 10.

2. FOLLOWING THOSE TALKS, VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP ORALLY BRIEFED VARIOUS NAMIBIAN POLITICAL FACTIONS, INCLUDING SWAPO BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE NAMIBIA. IN ADDITION, AN ACCOUNT OF THE TALKS WAS GIVEN TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, THE FRONTLINE STATES, NIGERIA, THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA, MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND ALL AFRICAN STATES.

3. IN EACH CASE, THE CONTENT OF THE BRIEFING TOOK INTO ACCOUNT THE PARTICULAR INTERESTS OF THE PARTY INVOLVED AND THE OBJECTIVE OF ENCOURAGING AN EARLY SETTLEMENT CONSISTENT WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385. THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP ALSO HAD IN MIND THE NEED TO ENSURE THAT THE OAU HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN LIBREVILLE WELL UNDERSTOOD

THE CONTACT GROUP'S OBJECTIVES SO THAT THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU AND ITS MEMBERSHIP WOULD SUPPORT OR AT LEAST NOT IMPEDE THOSE OBJECTIVES.

4. THOSE PARTIES MANILY CONCERNED SEEM PREPARED TO SES US CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS. ON THIS POINTS, THE ATTITUDE OF SWAPO WAS MOST AUTHORITATIVELY CHARACTERIZED BY IDENTICAL LETTERS DATED JUNE 22 FROM SAM NUJOMA TO MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP WHICH READ IN PART "SWAPO APPRECIATES THE EFFORTS OF THE CONTACT GROUP AND URGES ALL THE OTHER STATES MEMBERS OF THE U.N. THE FACILITATE INDIVIDUALLY OR COLLECTIVELY THE SUCCESS OF THIS UNDERTAKING". OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT DISCUSSIONS AND DECISIONS OF THE OAU SUMMIT PUT NO OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF THE INITIATIVE OF THE FIVE.
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 2206

5. AS NEXT STEP, MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP HAVE INVITED NUJOMA AND MEMBERS OF SWAPO'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO NEW YORK FOR DISCUSSIONS. ON THE BASIS OF PRELIMINARY CONTACTS WITH SWAPO, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE TALKS WILL CONVEY IN NEW YORK SOME TIME IN JULY.

6. OUR DISCUSSIONS HAVE GIVEN RISE TO TWO PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS, NAMELY:

- THE JURIDICAL PROBLEM WHICH COMPLICATES THE WHOLE TASK OF SECURING AGREEMENT FOR A U.N. INVOLVEMENT; AND
- THE GENERAL SCEPTICISM THAT FREE ELECTIONS CAN BE HELD IN THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS.

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(A) THE JURIDICAL PROBLEM. THE LEGAL CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND SOUTH AFRICA ARE INHIBITING THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. IT IS BEING ARGUED THAT FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL EVEN TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO WORK IN COOPERATION WITH SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE TANTAMOUNT TO RECOGNITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION AND RENUNCIATION OF THAT OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT IS ALSO ARGUED THAT ULTIMATE CONTROL MUST BE EXERCISED BY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. IF FOLLOWS THEREFORE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL IN ITSELF REMAINS CONTROVERSIAL; IN THE EYES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ANY SUCH APPOINTMENT IS DE JURE UNACCEPTABLE. IT WOULD EASE THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S TASK AND POSSIBLY ASSIST IN BREAKING THE PRESENT IMPASSE IF:

(1) SOUTH AFRICA WOULD INDICATE INFORMALLY AND DISCRETELY TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL THAT IT WOULD RAISE NO OBJECTION SHOULD HE DECIDE TO APPOINT MARTTI AHTISAARI AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

(2) SOUTH AFRICA WOULD ACCEPT THAT THE RESPECTIVE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE FULLY DISCUSSED AND AGREED UPON BEFORE PROMULGATION OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL'S MANDATE. IT WOULD ALSO APPEAR TO BE NECESSARY FOR THESE TWO OFFICIALS TO TAKE UP THEIR DUTIES IN WINDHOEK AT THE SAME TIME.

(B) THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE. THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IS A MAJOR AREA OF DISPUTE. IT IS ARGUED THAT FREE ELECTIONS CANNOT BE HELD AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES REMAIN IN NAMIBIA. EVEN AS REGARDS A PHASED WITHDRAWAL IT IS BEING ARGUED THAT IT IS TOO MUCH TO EXPECT OTHERS TO RENOUNCE THEIR MILITARY

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CAPABILITY AS LONG AS ANY SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY FORCES
REMAIN THE TERRITORY SINCE OTHERS CONCERNED LIKE
SOUTH-AFRICA, ARE UNDERSTANDABLY
FEARFUL OF THE RISKS IN THE CASE OF A BREAKDOWN IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS. INDEED, SUGGESTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE
THAT A U.N. FORCE MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO BALANCE OR REPLACE
THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA. THE
FIVE ARE OF THE VIEW THAT DEVISING THE MEANS TO MEET THESE
CONCERNS WILL PROVE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT. RECENT
STATEMENTS BY FOREIGN MINISTER BOTHA TEND TO IMPLY THAT
THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WILL NOT START
UNTIL A NEW NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT TAKES POWER. THIS APPROACH
IS NOT ACCEPTABLE IN THE VIEW OF THE FIVE WHO MADE IT
CLEAR DURING THE LAST ROUND OF DISCUSSIONS THAT WITHDRAWAL
SHOULD TAKE PLACE PROGRESSIVELY THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITIONAL
PERIOD BEGINNING WITH THE APPOINTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
GENERAL.

(1) THE FIVE ARE OF THE VIEW THAT IF THEIR INITIATIVE IS
TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE
GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA MAKE A PUBLIC COMMITMENT
TO ENTER INTO A PHASED WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FROM
NAMIBIA AND THAT THEY ESTABLISH A SCHEDULE FOR SUCH
A WITHDRAWAL INVOLVING EARLY AND SUBSTANTIAL TROOP
REDUCTIONS WHICH WOULD BEGIN CONCURRENTLY WITH
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE INSTALLATION OF THE U.N.
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. FURTHER MORE THEY SHOULD INDICATE
THEIR WILLINGNESS
TO HAVE U.N. OBSERVERS PRESENT WITH SUCH FORCES AS
REMAIN DURING THE POLITICAL PROCESS SO THAT THE U.N.
CAN BE SATISFIED THAT THERE IS NO INTERFERENCE IN
THAT PROCESS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 2206

THERE ARE TWO ADDITIONAL MATTERS WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP WISH TO MENTION TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AT THIS STAGE. BOTH WERE THE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSIONS AT THE SECOND ROUND OF TALKS IN CAPE TOWN:

(A) THE FIRST RELATES TO THE TIMING OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP RECALL PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD PROPOSE THE ELECTIONS BE HELD BY 31 DECEMBER 1977. IN RESPONSE, THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP TOOK EXCEPTION TO THIS TIMING. THEY BELIEVED MORE TIME WOULD BE NECESSARY TO ACCOMPLISH THE PRELIMINARY TASKS OF ENSURING A PROPER CLIMATE FOR FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS; E.G., THE REPEAL OF DISCRIMINATORY AND REPRESSIVE
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LAWS AND THE DRAFTING OF ELECTORAL LEGISLATION, THE RETURN OF NAMIBIANS THE RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, AND ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE CAMPAIGN. THE FURTHER THINKING OF THE CONTACT GROUP CONFIRMS THEIR INITIAL REACTION. IN THEIR VIEW IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF THE PARTIES PRIMARILY CONCERNED IN THE SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM WERE TO REJECT A SOLUTION BECAUSE THE PERIOD FOR THE ELECTORAL PROCESS WAS INADEQUATE.

(B) SECONDLY, THE MEMBERS OF THE CONTACT GROUP WOULD WISH TO REITERATE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA, A POINT MADE AT CAPE TOWN WITH REGARD TO DETAINEES. IN THEIR VIEW, IT WOULD IMPROVE THE CHANCES FOR ACCEPTABILITY OF THE PROPOSALS IF AN EARLY DATE COULD BE SET FOR THE RELEASE OF DETAINEES. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT SHOULD KNOW THAT CONTACT GROUP SPOKESMEN INFORMED THE GOVERNMENTS OF ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA THAT THEY CONSIDERED THE CALL FOR THE RELEASE OF NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS APPLIED TO ALL SUCH

PRISONERS WHEREVER HELD. UNQUOTE MCHENRY

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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